

TO SUBSCRIBERS

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the yellow address label.

THIS IS NUMBER

425

ADVANCE

We advocate the political organization of the working class to overthrow the domination of the capitalist class and to establish Socialism.

WHOLE NUMBER 425.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER, 27, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Workingmen! How will you Vote?

Workingmen of the State of California. We are face to face with conditions that require the united action of our class at the ballot box.

In spite of manhood suffrage, there are *Two Classes in This Country.*

One is the class of employers and the other is the class of wage-workers—the capitalist class and the working class.

The capitalists own the land and the industries and live off the labor of the workers.

The workers own neither land nor tools, and in order to live must sell their labor power to the capitalists.

The workers do all the useful work of society and support the capitalist class.

They are the producers of the nation's wealth, while the capitalists are the exploiters, who live by taking the wealth produced by the workers.

This exploitation the workers must abolish, therefore they must unite and vote for their class interests.

The interests of the working class are opposed to the interests of the capitalist class.

The capitalists employ the workers and give them in wages part of what they produce and keep the rest as profit.

They exploit the workers by taking from them more than they give in return.

The workers produce their own wages as well as their masters' profits.

The interest of the capitalists is to get all the profit possible out of the labor of the workers, and the true interest of the workers is to get the full product of their toil.

The more profit for the capitalists the less wages for the workers.

The less profit for the capitalists the more wages for the workers.

There is a Struggle Between the Two Classes.

It is a struggle between those who have and those who have not; between those who take and those who make; between those who exploit and those who resist exploitation; between the capitalists who must continue to exploit, and the worker, who must and will put an end to the struggle, put an end to the exploitation.

These two classes, with opposing interests, are represented by two political parties.

There is the party of the capitalist class, which is in power and governs the country, making the laws in its own interests; opposed to this is the party of the working class, which in a day soon to come, must and will be in power and will make the laws in the interests of all the workers.

The one great capitalist party is split up into contending factions, the Republicans and the Democrats, and the motto of each faction is: "To the victors belong the spoils." The workingmen who vote for these factions produce the spoils they quarrel over.

Workingmen who vote for any faction of the capitalist party vote for men who represent capitalist interests, make capitalist laws and pass measures in the interests of the capitalist class.

The Socialist party is the real working class party and its motto is: "To the producers belong the product," and workingmen who vote this ticket, vote for men who are determined to abolish capitalist laws, to enact and enforce their own laws, in their own interest, the interest of the working class.

The Socialist party scorns to conceal its aims. It openly denounces the capitalist class as the great obstacle to human progress, and emphatically declares it to be the oppressor and exploiter of the working class, both here and in every country where modern production has developed.

The Middle Class.

Between these two great classes is a rapidly diminishing number of self-employed workers, the so-called middle class of small farmers, small producers and small store keepers, who have only enough property to employ themselves and thereby to own the results of their own toil.

In selling the product of their own toil they are unable to compete successfully with the capitalists, who by taking the product of the wage-workers toil in large enterprises, can undersell them.

They are being forced out of business by the capitalist class, and their small properties go to swell the fortunes of the large capitalists.

They are doomed to failure. Sheriffs' sales and ruin stare them in

the face. From self-employed workers they rapidly become wage-workers.

Therefore, their best interest is the interest of the wage-working class—the interest of the producing and exploited class as opposed to the interest of the non-producing and exploiting class.

"It is a Condition, Not a Theory, That Confronts Us."

Fellow workingmen! We cannot make things for ourselves because we own neither land nor tools.

The capitalists own the land and the tools.

Therefore, we must work for the capitalists and the things we make are theirs.

They employ us, regulate our conduct, direct our energies and take all we produce.

They give us only enough to live on, while we produce wealth for them.

They oppress us, for the American government is a class government.

It is a governing of the workers, by the capitalists, for the capitalists.

The executive administration and judicial branches of the government are in reality but agents of the capitalist class.

They govern us solely for their own profit, and not for our well being.

They make the laws by which they keep us in subjection.

They also interpret the laws in their own interests and even govern us with injunctions in order to maintain their class supremacy.

They make and enforce the laws by which we must fill the world with wealth for them, while we live and die in want.

They will not let us work to make things for ourselves when in need; to do that we should have to use their land and their machinery, but their laws forbid it.

They pretend to favor us when they allow us to work for them, and pay us starvation wages while we support them in luxury.

They preach to us the dignity of labor, but take from us the product of our toil.

They displace us from the farm and workshop with their "labor-saving machinery."

They refuse to employ us all and will not let us employ ourselves.

They imprison us as tramps and vagrants for being unemployed.

They compel us to live in poverty, to suffer the pangs of hunger and to die of starvation amidst the plenty we have produced.

In the rapid changes in production uncertainty of employment is ever ours.

Want and the awful fear of want is ever present, and before us is the ever-increasing store of the necessities of life, which we produce, and which, it is our masters' law, we must not touch.

This heaped up store of wealth represents the unpaid labor of our class.

When our capitalist masters cannot sell this immense store, when the market is glutted, they call it a commercial crisis.

Then we the workers are thrown out of work, and our suffering, misery and want follow these crises in their thieving commercialism.

This is the condition of the American working people under the industrial and political control of the capitalists with their infamous exploitation.

Under their rule discoveries and inventions are used only to make millionaire capitalists of them and destitute workers of us.

Under their management the wealth we produce is used to further exploit us, to squeeze more wealth out of our long and exhausting toil.

Under their government workers starve in the midst of plenty, and are murdered in the name of capitalist law and capitalist order, when making such weak attempts as strikes and boycotts to better their condition.

Is the welfare of this country safe in their hands?

Are they fit and proper managers of society? NO!!!

They have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

To the working class we turn. To the supporters of society and its brave defenders we appeal.

Fellow workers, we must unite to fight the battle for industrial freedom.

The right to work for ourselves must be fought for at the ballot box.

It is by political power that the capitalists make their robbery legal and their oppression constitutional. It is only by the exercise of political power in our own interest that we, the workers, can abolish class rule and class privilege, and estab-

lish a workers' society where equal rights and equal duties will be the share of every man and woman.

Our conditions determine our needs.

Owning neither land nor machinery, and working together by the thousands in factories, mills, mines and on farms, producing wealth for the owners thereof, our real need is the collective ownership and control of the country and all the means of production and distribution.

When we attain what we need then we shall have industrial democracy.

Then we can all own collectively what we make by working together.

Then every man, woman and child will share in the necessities of life produced by the social labor of all the able bodied in society.

Then wealth will become the servant of labor and machinery will bear the burden of toil, and the industries will be managed for the benefit of all and not for the profit of a few.

Then want and the fear of want will be banished forever from the toilers and producers of the world's wealth.

Then we will have the co-operative commonwealth.

Then we will have Socialism.

This is the political demand of the Socialist Party, which truly represents the interests, the needs and hopes of the working class.

United Action is Our Battle Cry.

"The race is not to the swift alone, nor the battle to the strong, but to those who stick together."

Workingmen, let us cease voting for our masters.

Let us cease giving them the legal power to take all we produce.

We outnumber them ten to one and can defeat them at the ballot box.

Let us unite to conquer the capitalist class.

It is our enemy and stands between us and all the things by which we live.

Conquer the capitalist class. Therefore let us unite and vote for our class interests.

Let us make a political demand for To do this is our duty, for our needs are the needs of the people and our hopes are the hopes of humanity.

In our hands alone rests the destiny of this great country.

In our hands alone is the power to achieve the emancipation of the human race from all industrial slavery and political oppression.

To the working class belongs the future. A noble cause awaits us. A glorious historic mission is ours. United we can achieve the great political purpose of our existence.

THE ABOLITION OF CLASS RULE AND CLASS OPPRESSION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM—A WORKERS' SOCIETY AND WORKERS' LAW—THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

(The Socialist Manifesto of 1898 but good now.)

Free Speech Suppressed in Oakland

Mayor Barstow, the Chief of Police and some other High and Mighty Personage met in solemn conclave the other day, and after consulting themselves decided that the Socialist party should not be allowed free speech on free streets in Oakland.

With august demeanor and all the dignity they could control they briefly informed the Socialists that they might "go hire a hall if they wanted to talk."

In other words, the exploited, rack-rented proletarians of Oakland, if they wish to hear the gospel of emancipation from rent, interest and profit must pay rent to the landlords against whom they are waging their fight. Most wise and just tribunal! How tenderly you guard the interests of the masters of food and shelter! But the Socialists will not yield to injustice nor compromise short of their complete rights.

By the time the honorable Mayor and the honorable Chief and the honorable High and Mighty get through with the Revolutionary Socialists of Oakland they will wish that they had had enough decency and justice to accord to the Socialists those privileges which they have not denied to the Salvation and other sky-piloting "armies." Socialist Guards! un and at them!

In sending stamps in payment for subscriptions, please enclose in oil paper, so that they do not stick together.

Praised by his Neighbors

Carpenters' Union No. 701 is strictly in it when it comes to political nominations.

In addition to the nomination of Mr. Giger for the Assembly, comes the nomination of Mr. Brower for Governor.

In the selection of this candidate for Governor, the Socialists have selected a man of sterling integrity, great intelligence and unquestioned principle.

Mr. Brower is an ardent Socialist and one who has the courage of his convictions and should be elected Governor, California would have an honest and conscientious administration of its affairs. Certainly corporate influence would never control the actions of G. S. Brower.—*Fresno Labor Tribune.*

Wilson's Great Meeting in San Diego

Editor Advance: The comrades of San Diego want the news chronicled to the four winds regarding the splendid meeting which greeted J. Stitt Wilson when he spoke on "The Impending Social Revolution," on September 2d in this city.

The handsome Isis theater was hired for the occasion at a rental of \$75, and an admission fee of ten cents charged with reserved seats at twenty-five cents. The house was packed to the doors, about one thousand people being present much to the surprise and consternation of the opposing parties. Think of holding a political meeting and charging an admission for it, and then securing such a magnificent audience.

It was indeed equally a tribute to the esteem in which the gifted speaker is held in this community and to the splendid energy of the comrades in our local, every one of whom took off their coats and worked like heavers for the success of the meeting by selling tickets.

Comrade Wilson was at his best, his brilliant and irresistible oratory fairly lifting the house off its feet at times. Taking it all around it was the grandest meeting ever held by the Socialists of San Diego, and had a marked effect in arousing interest in our cause.

A handsome little surplus was netted for the local after paying all the expenses of the meeting, which amounted to almost \$100.

Fraternally,
Geo. A. Garrett.

Richardson Campaigning

September 22, 1902.
Editor Advance: Dear Comrade—According to your request to send you what Socialist news we have, I hasten to write you of the work done here last night by Comrade N. A. Richardson. We had but a very short notice upon which to get advertising out, but nevertheless we succeeded in getting quite a large number of old party supporters up, and when I tell you that Comrade Richardson held them spell-bound for over two hours while he talked to them as a teacher, and then after an hour more devoted to answering their questions, they were reluctant to go, you will know he made us some votes, and what is better more members. We have had comrades Benj. F. Wilson and Walter Thos. Mills here this year and to this day we hear comments upon their lectures, but I am satisfied the work done last night by Richardson will go as far toward convincing and making results as the work done by them.

Comrade Richardson has a mild way of talking to his audience that is very pleasing. He does not resort to any flights of oratory or rhetoric, but uses the plainest and simplest of language, which brings the logic of Socialism before them in a way that keeps a keen interest continually aroused. Not a man left his audience; something we have never been able to say till now.

He left on the morning train for Exeter, where he speaks to-night. God be with him.

Fraternally,
Porterville Local.

H. Roy Wright, Secretary.

Competition is the struggle of two men to do one man's job. The result is that the job is poorly done and the men are worse paid. Co-operation would enable them to do the job in less than one-half the time and do it better.

Socialists Rock the "Cradle of Liberty"

are moving so rapidly in Massachusetts that it is difficult to chronicle them fast enough. For nearly a week Socialism has occupied a prominent place in the daily press.

It is customary to hold rallies after nominating conventions which serve as campaign openers, but this year the Massachusetts comrades had not made preparations for this. This was more than made up for, however, by the developments arising from a meeting arranged by the *Traveler* of this city as a protest against the coal barons and in favor of "mediation, arbitration and concession."

It turned out that these three very desirable things (from the middle class standpoint) were altogether too tame for the crowd that packed old Faneuil Hall on the night of September 8th. The historic "cradle of liberty" certainly rocked to good purpose that night.

Many of the delegates to the State convention stayed over for the meeting, as it was understood that Carey and MacCartney were going to accept invitations to speak. The meeting was advertised as a non-partisan one and all shades of political beliefs were to be represented. When the affair was over it was pretty generally acknowledged that Socialism was the only belief with any following of consequence in the hall.

From the moment when Carey and MacCartney appeared on the platform there was no doubt of the sentiment of the meeting. When Carey, as first speaker, declared: "I am a Socialist," the keynote was struck, and Socialism, much to the astonishment of those who arranged the meeting, had the floor for the evening. For two hours things went with whirl. Mr. Bryan's name was cheered in a pitifully weak manner. Mr. Hamlin, candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, and Democratic Senator Fitzgerald, found their rounded periods fall flat upon unsympathetic ears, while the Rev. Mr. Plumb received jeers and ridicule for his criticism of the miners and John Mitchell. And Harry Lloyd, once one of the most prominent trade unionists in America, received an ovation when he declared that he was done with the Democratic party forever, and he was going to support the Socialist party hereafter. Lloyd has been contemplating this step for some time, but this was his first public declaration for Socialism.

When at last Mr. Wardner of the *Traveler* was about to introduce resolutions calling for arbitration, Comrade David Taylor arose in the gallery and offered a resolution demanding government ownership of the mines. The crowd was for Taylor's resolution, but graciously allowed Mr. Wardner's to be voted on first. Taylor's were then adopted amid great enthusiasm.

The next day the press unanimously conceded that the meeting was a Socialist one; and considering that the Socialists made no preconcerted arrangements to "capture" it, we are justified in recording the meeting as a spontaneous tribute to the growth of Socialism in Boston, and all the more, therefore, a splendid opening rally for the Socialist party campaign.

Socialist Ethics

The Italian city of Regge Emilia, whose administration has passed into the control of Socialists, has adopted the following commandments for school children to memorize:

"Love thy schoolmates, for they will be your co-workers for life.

"Love knowledge, the bread of intellect; cherish the same gratitude toward the teachers as toward thy father and mother.

"Make every day thou livest the occasion for some good and beneficial deed; always sow the seeds of kindness.

"Honor good men and true women, esteem all men as equals, bend thy knees to no one.

"Do not bear hatred to anybody, don't insult people. The word revenge shall not be in thy vocabulary, but stand up for thy rights and resist oppression.

"Do not be a coward. Stand by the weak, and respect and love justice.

"Remember that all goods of this world are the product of labor. Whoever takes the good things of this world without giving their equivalent in labor robs the diligent of their just dues."

ADVANCE



Organ of the Socialist Party of California: Published Weekly by the Local San Francisco, Socialist Party.

Address business letters to Business Manager, and other communications to Editor Advance, Room 8, Odd Fellows' Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Subscription price, 50c. per year; six months, 25c. Make all checks and money orders payable to Advance.

San Francisco, Sept. 27, 1902.

The Socialist and the Union Labor Parties

The action of San Francisco in nominating Assemblymen, Senators, Judges and Justices of the Peace is likely to cause wide discussion, as it is a departure from the precedents of the American Socialist movement. It is important, therefore, that Advance should recite some of the reasons which impelled the local convention to take the position it has. Briefly stated the argument is as follows:

The Socialist party has as its aim and object the organization of the working class to capture the political powers from the capitalist class and to use those powers to overthrow the institution of capitalist property and substitute it with the co-operative commonwealth. The Socialist party nominates men for public office for one of two purposes, either (1) to secure their election and thus actually capture part of the "public powers," or (2) as a means of education and method of expressing our views and numbers in a public way.

In San Francisco at the present time it is absolutely certain that no Socialist can possibly be elected as such on a Socialist ticket. No one believes this within the range of possibilities. The nomination of a ticket, therefore, is for the purpose of education, having something to talk for, and counting the increase—making a showing. As far as these purposes are concerned, the opportunity is furnished by the nominees on the "State ticket," Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, etc. But there is a further advantage ordinarily in the moral effect of giving the radical workingmen a straight ticket to vote for from top to bottom. This advantage should not be lightly put aside or rejected. Only when it is outweighed by a gain in some other way should it be overlooked. This gain the comrades of San Francisco believe they see, and hence have not nominated a full ticket.

If, as we have above shown, the purpose of nominating a ticket at the present stage of our development, is its educational value, then no ticket should be nominated where it can be shown that such ticket will retard rather than accelerate the spread of Socialist thought. The question then resolves itself to this, Will the nominating of Assemblymen, etc., in San Francisco retard or accelerate the speed of Socialist thought and the organization of the working class on Socialist lines?

The peculiar conditions which have arisen in San Francisco, and which put the above question in debatable ground, are these: In 1901 the workmen of San Francisco went through a great industrial battle. On the one side was the capitalist class organized in the Employers and subsidiary associations. On the other side was the working class, organized in the City Front Federation, the Iron Trades Council and the Labor Council. The capitalist invoked the political powers, and with their aid beat the workers. The workers learned the lesson beat into their heads by the policemen's clubs and organized to capture the public powers. This they partly succeeded in doing in the municipal election of 1901, electing the Mayor and three Supervisors. If they had had the support of the Socialists they would have elected two or three officials and half the Board of Supervisors. But although the Union Labor party had organized the working class to secure control of the public powers to fight for the workers against the capitalists, the Socialist party mistrusted the leaders and, on the ground that the Union Labor party did not stand outright for the overthrow of capitalism, it attacked the Union Labor party nominees with the greatest vigor. Nevertheless the Socialist vote sank from 2,000 to 900 and the party organization from 200 to 40 or 50. A period of discouragement ensued, which was not thrown off until the great impulse from the outside came through Comrades Mills and Wilson. Not only were the Socialists discouraged from active propaganda, but the revolting working class were embittered against Socialism by the Socialists "scabbing" on their Union ticket.

Understanding these conditions, experi-

encing them, the comrades of San Francisco naturally sought some honorable means of avoiding a repetition of so disastrous a campaign. They feel that nominating a ticket against the candidates of the Union Labor Party will only arouse the antagonism of men who have openly declared that the old parties are their enemies, and that the working class must organize politically. Instead of nominations being a means of education, therefore, they would close the ears of those best fitted to be our auditors and converts to our message. The purpose of nominating a ticket is thus completely subverted. The act would defeat the purpose it was intended to accomplish, and hence the nominations should not be made.

This reasoning is, of course, only tenable where the party to which the Socialists defer is a genuine working-class party. The Republican party is the representative of the great capitalists, the enemy whom the Socialists fight, and hence we can only rejoice in the antagonism we get from them. The Democratic party comprises the smaller capitalists and the Socialists have nothing to offer them but war—they too are the exploiters of labor. But the Union Labor party in San Francisco is a party composed exclusively of workingmen, with whom the Socialists have no quarrel; for whom, on the contrary, the Socialists are working with all their energy and zeal. Viewing the matter from the broad historic ground of economic determinism (the distinguishing feature of Marxian or Scientific Socialism) all political parties that accomplish any great reform, or important modification of the structure of society, or complete revolution, all such parties are not based primarily on an idea or theory. They are based on class interests, and the idea or theory which ultimately distinguishes such a party comes secondarily and after a struggle, as a survival of the fittest idea or theory to express the interests of the class composing the party. The Republican and Democratic parties thus represent the greater and lesser capitalists respectively. It is inevitable also that there shall be a working class party to express and fight for the interests of the working class. Up to 1901 the Socialist party in San Francisco had the program and to the extent of its ability fought for the working class. It was then the only representative of working class interests. But as we have shown, that year a party was organized which became simply the political organized working class. And such it has remained. There are some corrupt old party politicians within its ranks no doubt. But though these men hamper the pursuit of a straight path, nevertheless the Union Labor party has steadily refused to indorse other party candidates, and maintains its right of way and proves its good faith as a working class party. Putting it briefly, the heart of the Union Labor party is in the right place. The criticism of the Socialist is that it does not completely and clearly express the interests of labor, viz.: the overthrow of capitalism, the abolition of wage-slavery and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. But this much is certain. Either the Union Labor party must continue to advance measures really in the interest of labor or it will lose the workers' support and perish. If it advances false measures it will injure labor and soon feel the reaction. If it advances measures of real benefit to labor it must at the same time and by the same act injure capitalism, for it is impossible to benefit capital and labor at the same time. The inexorable commands of political necessity will thus force the Labor party to become a Socialist party, for there is only one result of their attacking capitalism and benefitting labor at the same time. If the Labor party backs out, if it refuses the logical action, it will die and the field will be clear for the Socialist party to take up the work and carry it on to a successful end.

It is thus evident that not nominating against the Union Labor party is an entirely different matter from leaving the field clear to a capitalist party. And this action is contemplated and sanctioned by the third resolution adopted at the State Convention, which was taken almost bodily from Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto," and is printed in this issue of Advance.

With Oakland, however, the case is entirely different. There the Union Labor party is an hot-house affair, cooked up by politicians, rather than growing out of a genuine revolt of the working class. Its platform is simply an appeal to the taxpayers, and its tactics are those of fusion wherever strength can be acquired and chances of election increased. Such an aggregation is a mere transitory imitation, which simply thrives because of the success of the genuine article here in San Francisco. Our Oakland comrades were, therefore, entirely right in nominating against them. They would have deserved censure indeed if they had not done so.

In Los Angeles other and entirely different conditions prevail, if newspaper reports be true. Dispatches tell us that so genuinely are the Union Labor people

there a working class party that they not only do not fuse with the Democrats, as in Oakland, nor yet remain neutral to all parties, as in San Francisco, but that they actually indorse and support the Socialist party, with the understanding that in the December municipal election the Socialists will support them. Newspapers are great liars, however, and we await reliable information before commenting further on this point.

To sum up: San Francisco has not nominated because a ticket would only have educational value, and as there is a party which seems to be a working class party, and therefore to have only one fate before it if it lives, i. e., to adopt Socialism, it seems wise, therefore, for the Socialist party not to antagonize their local ticket that they may be induced to lend a reader ear to our arguments for Socialism made in support of our State ticket, which State ticket affords us every chance to express our political convictions, to educate the people through, and to make our showing by. We do not indorse or condemn the local nominees of the Union Labor party. They are not Socialists, but they are workingmen. We stand neutral to let them fight their fight, and if they do not compromise, if they stand true to labor, if they show themselves intelligent enough to grasp the real measures for the benefit of labor, we may help them in the future. For the present we stand neutral, criticizing and advising them and fighting for an expression for Socialism through our State ticket.

there a working class party that they not only do not fuse with the Democrats, as in Oakland, nor yet remain neutral to all parties, as in San Francisco, but that they actually indorse and support the Socialist party, with the understanding that in the December municipal election the Socialists will support them. Newspapers are great liars, however, and we await reliable information before commenting further on this point.

there a working class party that they not only do not fuse with the Democrats, as in Oakland, nor yet remain neutral to all parties, as in San Francisco, but that they actually indorse and support the Socialist party, with the understanding that in the December municipal election the Socialists will support them. Newspapers are great liars, however, and we await reliable information before commenting further on this point.

To sum up: San Francisco has not nominated because a ticket would only have educational value, and as there is a party which seems to be a working class party, and therefore to have only one fate before it if it lives, i. e., to adopt Socialism, it seems wise, therefore, for the Socialist party not to antagonize their local ticket that they may be induced to lend a reader ear to our arguments for Socialism made in support of our State ticket, which State ticket affords us every chance to express our political convictions, to educate the people through, and to make our showing by. We do not indorse or condemn the local nominees of the Union Labor party. They are not Socialists, but they are workingmen. We stand neutral to let them fight their fight, and if they do not compromise, if they stand true to labor, if they show themselves intelligent enough to grasp the real measures for the benefit of labor, we may help them in the future. For the present we stand neutral, criticizing and advising them and fighting for an expression for Socialism through our State ticket.

The Platform of the Socialist Party of California

The Socialist party of California in State Convention assembled affirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, adopted at the National Socialist Convention, held in Indianapolis in 1901.

The Socialist party aims to organize the working class and those in sympathy with its program to secure the following demands:

First. The ownership and democratic management by all of the people of the means of producing and distributing wealth.

Second. Equal opportunity for all to have access to the means of producing wealth and for the toilers the full product of their toil.

Pending the accomplishment of these ultimate demands, we pledge our nominees for public office to work for all measures which will benefit the working class.

We advocate the following declarations and resolutions:

1. Modern industrial methods have forced upon our people a mighty political struggle between the exploiting class, or those who live from the labor of others, and the exploited class or those from whose labor the exploiters live.

2. We recognize in the great combinations of wealth, in the syndicates and trusts that speak the doom of competition, and consequently of all small and needless concerns simply the product of industrial growth; that these greater institutions must supplant the lesser ones just as the machine method of production has displaced the hand method; that the simplest law of business—the necessity for investment of surplus annual gains—must soon compel their few owners to possess the nation; that such concerns can but reduce our government to a plutocracy and our masses to wage-slavery. The only remedy lies in the collective ownership of all the means of production. The people must possess the medium through which the trust exploit them. They must own the channels through which the wealth of the nation is now flowing into the hands of the few.

3. The Socialist party views with interest and friendly sympathy the effort of workingmen in California and elsewhere to break away from capitalist parties and to unite in forming themselves into a labor or working class political party. Every industrial struggle must be a political class struggle. The capitalist class is now the ruling class; and the first step in the revolution of the working class is to raise the workers to the position of the ruling class. In the various stages of the development, which the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class has to pass through, the Socialist party represents the interest of the movement as a whole. It is not opposed to other bona fide working class parties. It has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole. Its immediate aim is the same as that of all other working class parties—the formation of the workers as a class—overthrow of capitalist supremacy—conquest of the political power by the working class. The ultimate goal of the Socialist party, however, and that which it believes alone can bring adequate and permanent relief to the working class, is the entire abolition of the present wage system and the transformation of the capitalist system of private ownership of

the means of production and distribution into a public or collective ownership and management by the entire people for the benefit of the entire people.

4. We congratulate organized labor everywhere on the evidence that it is awakening to class-consciousness and to the fact that "nothing but the full product of a man's labor can ever be a just reward for labor"; that it is recognizing the great fundamental idea of Socialism.

5. We commend the united efforts of of laborers to defend their rights against the tyranny of organized capitalists, by the formation of trades unions and otherwise; and we denounce the attempts of capitalist combinations to subjugate labor by the unscrupulous use of every power of government—legislative, executive and judicial—to destroy the organization of toilers.

6. The use of the injunction to destroy the liberties of the toilers is scarcely less infamous than the use of the bayonet and bullet to destroy their lives.

7. Whereas, In the smaller holders of land, in the typical American farmer, in the food producer of our nation, we recognize a band of laborers who are exploited to a degree second to no other in the industrial field, and

Whereas, They are the direct prey of the money lender, the railway monopoly, the frusts, the syndicated grain gamblers, the milling and the manufacturing combines.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favors the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Sept. 21st, "sine die," to reconvene as a Municipal Convention, on Sunday, Sept. 28th, 1902, at 3 p. m., at Room 8, Odd Fellows' Hall, to rescind the action taken at the previous convention and proceed to nominate a full Municipal ticket.

E. E. Kirk, Sec. Dist. Club No. 2.

Union Politics and Socialism

In the London Justice for August appears an article headed "Labor Representation and Our Attitude Towards It," containing the following paragraph:

"A tactical problem of such complexity and importance as that which the turning of the trades unions to "independent" political action has now placed before us deserves all the attention, and more, which is being bestowed upon it throughout our organization. The new departure of the unions undoubtedly constitutes an event fraught with great consequences. It is an event for which we Social-Democrats have for a long time been on a constant and impatient look-out. No wonder that the question presses itself to the front—What is to be our attitude? How are we to act so that the workers, having at last said A, may as speedily as possible skip through the rest of the alphabet, and finally arrive at X, Y, Z."

After discussing all sides of the question at great length, Comrade Rothstein, the writer, a member of the Executive Board of the Social Democratic Federation, sums up as follows:

"Socialists may run as trade union candidates and consequently are entitled to our support, if they openly and explicitly, before both the electors and those who bring them forward, reserve to themselves the right to act on all general political questions according to their Socialist convictions."

"In all cases where the trades union candidate does not declare his intention to act on all questions beyond his election program as a Socialist, Socialists remain neutral."

Now, whether we agree with the above position or not, in its belief that the Socialist can remain "neutral" when there is a war on between the capitalist and the wage-worker, we must acknowledge that our movement is certainly proving itself international in scope, and that the conditions we are facing are world-wide. The working class is on the move. What are we to do? For my part I cannot allow the term "compromise" to exist in my mind when any question of Socialist relations with the working class arises. We can only "compromise" with the capitalist class—with wage-workers we are wedded until death do us part, and no "compromise" with their interests is possible.

—John Murray in Los Angeles Socialist.

Campaign Fund

Comrades, Friends and Sympathizers:

The Socialist movement is an intelligent proposition. It has for its slogan the overthrow of capitalism and the elimination of private property which is social in its use and the abolishment of the wage system, so you cannot expect any aid or assistance from the capitalist class as such.

The people must be taught Socialism in order to overcome the foolish ideas that a great number of them hold relative to Socialist principles.

It is the purpose of Socialists to take advantage of every opportunity to promulgate the principles of Socialism.

Under the capitalist system the sinews of war is money.

The greatest part of the work for Socialism is voluntary, but literature, printing and many other items cannot be secured except for cash.

This is a propitious and opportune time for getting a hearing.

The people are in a slough of despond as to how to extricate themselves from the forces tending to consolidation and industrial revolution.

They are weary of the promises and issues of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Their prejudices against Socialism are breaking.

We need speakers and literature. In organization there is strength, method and system.

The dues will not suffice; therefore we feel it necessary to ask you to contribute liberally to the campaign fund. Acknowledgements will be made in the Advance.

Ethel Sorenson, \$2; Gus Postler, \$2; Wm. Wirt, \$1; H. Vonbrack, \$1; O. Gafert, \$1; O. Wendt, 25c; J. W. Whys, 50c; Edward Derome, 50c; A. F. Lindwall, \$1.50; L. W. Lindgren, \$2; J. H. Fairbrook, \$1; F. M. Phelan, \$1; C. Herrman, \$2.50; Randolph S. Williamson, of Seattle, Wash., 50c; J. Mayblum, 50c; Claus Gafert, \$1.

J. H. Fairbrook, Fin. Sec.

The daily capitalist press of San Francisco stated that Cameron H. King Jr. was a delegate to the local convention of San Francisco and made a speech against a local ticket. This is not true. C. H. King Jr. did not make any speech therein.

San Francisco Does not Nominate

The San Francisco local convention of the Socialist party met at the Turk street Temple Sunday, September 21. Gus Postler was elected chairman and E. E. Kirk secretary. The chairman and secretary were made committee on credentials and a committee of three on order of business was elected. After a short adjournment the convention reassembled at 11 a. m. and proceeded to permanent organization. The temporary officers were made permanent.

The order of business reported was as follows:

1. Seating of Delegates.
2. Temporary officers be made permanent.

3. That the State Platform and Resolutions be adopted as the Platform and Resolutions of the local convention.

4. We refer back without recommendation the question, whether or not this convention shall make any nominations.

The report was received and adopted. It was then moved that the convention proceed to nominate.

No time limit was set on the debate, but it was provided that no one should speak a second time while any member desired to speak the first time.

A long debate ensued. Emil Liess, L. L. Nevins, Scott Anderson, A. W. N. Lyons, A. F. Lindwall and C. H. King, Sr., spoke against the motion to nominate. H. H. Groner, Dr. N. J. B. Schultz, I. Flaum, J. C. Wesley and Geo. Barnaby spoke in favor of nominating.

The speaking lasted from 11 o'clock to 2 p. m., when the previous question was moved and carried unanimously. The vote on the motion to nominate was then taken by roll-call, and resulted in 19 for and 21 against.

A motion was made by C. H. King and seconded by Wm. Costley that the convention adjourn sine die.

The meaning of the action of the convention is that the local nominees of the Union Labor party will not be antagonized and the Socialist party, while not endorsing or standing sponsor for the local Union Labor ticket, will simply remain neutral and exert its efforts in behalf of the State ticket. The refusal to nominate is not an indorsement or a pledge of support, nor a precedent for future action. It was purely a bit of local policy—a policy of keeping hands off while the Union Labor party goes through its local paces.

A Reversal Possible

San Francisco, Sept. 24, 1902.

Editor of Advance:

A resolution was carried unanimously by District Club No. 2, Local S. F., Socialist Party, as follows:

Resolved, That the delegates to the City Central Committee, Local S. F., be instructed to notify all the delegates to the Municipal Convention that adjourned

The Trusts Have the Farmer by the Throat

The farmer must wake up. He must protect his property, his labor force, his life, his more than life—his freedom and his family.

He has been so busy working hard that it seems he has not taken time to think. But the time for hard thinking has come. Work's all right if you get your pay. Its slavery if masters take the crop. Masters have been taking the farmers' crops for years, leaving him just what they leave the city worker—a bare living—enough to keep him alive to produce more for the confiscators.

The farmer produces vegetables, grain, fruits, cattle. He needs a market for these things. He needs a means to get them to that market. He does not and cannot own the railroad. He does not and cannot own the great commission house, the grain elevator, the flour mill, the cannery, the stock yards—in short, he does not and cannot own the market.

The railroads are owned by trusts. The markets are controlled by trusts. So when the farmer uses the transportation lines to get his products to the market he must pay extortionate toll to railroad kings.

When he reaches the market he discovers that the elevators, mills, factories, canneries, stock yards, commission houses, etc., are in the grasp of trusts. Kings rule the markets. They dictate values. They force the farmer to sell at the lowest price.

And over to them the farmer must deliver his cattle, his grain, his fruit, the labor of his hands, for a paltry sum.

Thus it is that after the railroad kings and the market kings have gotten their tribute the farmer has very little left. The pay of months and months of hard, exacting toil has dwindled to a miserable pittance.

With this little he returns to buy the things he needs. He is confronted by other robber kings. The market from which he is forced to buy is ruled by trusts.

He needs lumber. The lumber trust holds him up. He requires tools. The machinery trust shakes him down. For every article he wants he pays some trust a tax above what ought to be the normal price. And he pays the railroad trust extortionate rates to haul his purchases home.

The trusts catch him coming and going. They get him when he sells and when he buys.

They pay him the lowest price for his products. They exact the highest price for their wares.

They say the first and final word on all values.

The farmer must accept the little they deign to offer and disgorge all they please to demand.

It follows that the farmer in spite of all his hard work is very poor. In spite of diligence and economy and the best of management, he is often pushed hard to pay his taxes and to provide his home with the most necessary things.

He suffers inconvenience. His taxes fall in arrears.

Sometimes he seeks to stave off disaster by mortgaging the home.

But whatever he does and wherever he goes he is just as certainly a slave of the trusts as the factory worker in the city is. Indeed, more so. Because the city worker, without the vain title to a piece of ground, which he must work for others' gain, can more readily move and adjust himself to changing conditions. The farmer, chained to a single spot, striving desperately to keep that foothold on the earth, is the helpless slave of the trusts that pillage him at every turn. He cannot even fly.

The feudal serf paid a tribute to one lord.

The farmer pays a tribute to many lords.

And the many tributes leave him bare. But this is not the end of the story.

There comes a financial depression, as they call it—an industrial crisis—a panic. All over the land the shops, the mills, the great manufacturing plants shut down.

What's the cause of this? Why, the trusts. They ground the price of the farmer's product and the city workman's wage down to the lowest notch. They sold at the highest price. They fixed the prices at which they bought and sold. They bought and sold for profits, and they made immense profits. These profits piled up. They became an unsaleable surplus, an alleged over-production, that at length gorged every market and caused a stoppage.

The farmer needs things, but cannot buy. He has no money. He didn't get his dues when he sold his muscle.

And all the markets are gorged with the needed things.

Panic!

The fires are raked out. The wheels stop. Thousands—tens of thousands—millions of workmen out of employment.

How does this affect the farmer? Why these workmen were the fellows who used the largest portion of the farmer's grain, vegetables, fruits and meats. The trusts that control the canneries, mills, stockyards, elevators, etc., fix the price for the farmer, and after the completed process they sell the meal, flour, meats, canned goods, etc., at a large advance to the workmen in the cities. So these workmen in the cities constitute the real market of the farmer, though he may not, except in rare instances, sell direct to them.

Well, the industrial crisis has come. Millions of industrial workers are out of employment. Their wages cease. They cannot buy the things they need.

Now the trusts that have been buying from the farmer have no longer a market. They have plenty of meal and flour and grain and canned goods and cattle ready to be made into meat, but that market is gone. The industrial workers are out of employment, they draw no wages, have no money, cannot buy.

So when the farmer comes in with his produce the trusts say to him: "Sorry, but there is an over-production. We can't sell what we have, so won't invest to-day."

And the farmer can't sell elsewhere. The trusts have held up the whole country and gotten about everything.

The farmer can't sell his products at any price. They rot on his hands. The home is sold for taxes or the mortgage is foreclosed. The red flag of the auctioneer waves above the scene.

The fact is the farmer is a workman in exactly the same fix as the city workman; and the interests of all workmen are the same.

The city workman must sell his labor force to trusts which set the price. He must purchase his necessities from trusts which set the price.

The farmer must sell the product of his labor force to trusts which set the price. He must purchase his necessities from trusts which set the price.

The farmer and city workman are held up by the same strong arms. They are robbed coming and going. Both are slaves of trusts.

Yet the trusts are the result of business experience. Though bad masters they would make splendid servants.

Let the nation own the trusts.

The tools of production and distribution must belong to all the people.

The farmer cannot individually own the transportation lines or individually own the market in which he buys and sells. But the people collectively can own the railroads, the elevators the stockyards, the canneries, the mills, all the tools of production and distribution, and give the farmer a square deal.

The city workman cannot individually own the manufacturing plants or the trusts which he serves, and which he must patronize, but the people collectively, the government, can own them and give the city workman a square deal.

Socialization of the means of production and distribution will give us all a square deal.

The same evils which drive the industrial worker to call for nationalization of the industries compel the farmer to demand the same thing.

The forces, though they crush us now, are the forerunners of a better day. They bring us closer together. They make us feel our interdependence; understand our mutual duties. They compel us to acknowledge our brotherhood. Finally they will force us to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

This is why the farmer should study Socialism.

And vote the Socialist ticket.

Under our present system your home, your land can be sold for taxes and debt. Under Socialism nobody could sell the land. Not even the government would sell it.

Under Socialism you would have the absolute and perpetual use of all the land you needed for a home. No tax-gatherer, mortgage-man or other creditor could oust you.

Under Socialism, aided by best machinery, you would labor in co-operation with your fellow-men. You would need to work only about one-third the time you now work, and you would receive at least three times the pay.

Socialism is true liberty, true patriotism, true religion.

Study it, teach it, vote it.

Help to redeem your country from the trusts.

Bequeath a free land to a free posterity. VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

William B. Fox.

Anyone not getting the paper will please report to whom and when and the amount paid. Send receipt or copy of same when you can.

Subscribers will please take notice, all in arrears on September 20th will be dropped from the subscription list.

Ben Wilson in Montana

Editor Colorado Chronicle:

Comrade Benjamin F. Wilson is at present touring the State of Montana for the Socialist party. He spoke before the convention of the Montana State Trades and Labor Council at Livingston, August 27th and addressed the delegates again August 30th. He spoke at the Auditorium in Butte Sunday evening, August 31st, and delivered the Labor Day address at Anaconda September 1st.

To say Comrade Wilson is speaking to large audiences and is being enthusiastically received would, to say the least, be putting it very mildly. Halls in which he speaks are simply packed to the doors, and the message of hope that he delivers to the working class is received in such a manner as to show both an understanding of Socialist principles and a determination to support the Socialist party on election day. At Anaconda, where an additional meeting was held Tuesday, September 2d, of an audience of fully eight hundred fully six hundred and fifty arose to their feet and were counted as Socialists. In Butte, where a tremendous meeting was had about five hundred out of seven hundred people rose and cheered for five minutes when asked if they would stand firm for Socialism and vote the straight Socialist ticket on election day.

These last meetings demonstrate beyond a doubt that the labor unions and the working class generally is permeated with Socialism, and that only Comrade Wilson's eloquence and earnestness were needed to inspire them to action. All of the boodle, sophistry and treachery in Montana politics cannot prevent the working people of the State recording themselves for the Socialist party at the forthcoming election.

Comrade Wilson may remain in the State until after election. He certainly will speak in the State for the next three weeks at least. His brother, J. Stitt Wilson, will be with us for four days later on in September, and will contribute to the good work.

Look out for a big Socialist vote in Montana this year.

Butte, Montana, September 8.

Socialism in Mitchell's Speech

We are glad to observe that the following passage from Mitchell's speech on Labor Day is "tainted with Socialism," and seems to indicate that the leader of the striking coal miners is steadily becoming more progressive and radical:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I am one who believes that the time is not far distant when the workingmen will have to solve the labor problem. I am free to say that my own views have been somewhat changed since this strike started. Nearly all well-informed workers know that I have identified myself with every peace movement that I thought would help the workers. I am not prepared to say that they are failures so long as employers will not listen to reason and truth.

"I look forward to the time when all wage-earners will take their proper places in this movement. I look forward to the time when those who build the mansions will not have to live in hovels. I look forward to the time when the men who build the beautiful Pullman palace cars will not have to walk from station to station looking for work. I look forward to the time when those whose labor builds the beautiful edifices, whose spires point heavenward, will not have to walk past them, too ragged to enter.

"I stand for the solidarity of the trade union movement. I hope to see the time when no man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow will be outside the ranks of his trade union. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN THE WORKERS OF OUR COUNTRY WILL TAKE POSSESSION OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY."

A Talk that Counted

Fred G. Strickland is truly doing a splendid work in Denver. On the street or the platform he is equally at home. Never chasing anything but a big, scientific point, he yet keeps his audience incessantly amused. Such a combination of humor and earnestness, strong points and easy expression is rarely met.

The regular meeting Sunday night at the headquarters, Concord hall, 1548 California street, was a crowded one, although the hall holds over four hundred people. Comrade Strickland gave a delightful and stirring address and then—joy to tell—a big fund was raised for the campaign committee. Seven hundred dollars was what was hoped for, but the actual amount came to \$779. No one will want to be left out, so this will probably be raised considerably, if not doubled.

Frederick Strickland will organize and teach a series of lessons in the Mills series in and about Cincinnati.

Socialism Clearly Explained

Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories, and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessaries and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks and our public libraries are public property today, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

Socialists say that it is no Utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owner was absolutely necessary to any such enterprise. But we see today that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

Today goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of profit that the property-owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

Under the present system, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of enjoying life, more opportunities for recreation for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such a power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such profusion. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized; it is necessary to socialize distribution and ownership as well.

What is to be done is to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class; recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have disappeared. The emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished, and Socialism will be here.—*Social Democratic Herald*.

Advance Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$58.00. Additional: Frank N. Hayman, \$1; J. H. Talbot, \$3; J. L. Cobb of Dos Palos, \$1; Wm. Main of Fresno, \$1; E. L. Hunt, \$1; J. J. Patton, Pasadena, \$1; E. T. Page, Pinole, Cal., \$1; G. A. Craig, \$1; C. Herrmann, \$2.50; L. B. Kessler, \$1; W. Stitz, \$1; E. V. Fleury, \$1; A. W. Kossner, \$1; J. J. Mayblum, \$1. Total, \$75.50.

Miners' Strike Fund

Amount reported to September 13, \$3,214.11; Local Terry, S. Dak., \$8.25; Social Democrat Frauren Verein, Elizabeth, N. J., \$5; Local Fort Wayne, Ind., \$35; Local Fresno, Cal., \$5.50; Local Ashtabula, Ohio, \$7.04; Local Brocton, Mass., \$50; Passaic County, N. J., \$26; W. W. Farmer, Cincinnati, Ohio, \$9; Aug. Schmidt, Bevier, Mo., 50c; Local Ticonderoga, N. Y., \$10; D. Jenkins, secretary, Cleveland, Ohio, \$1.47; Local New Brighton, Pa., \$31.50; Local Sioux City, Ia., \$8; Local Somerville, N. J., \$47.40; Bohemian Society, Chicago, Ill., \$47.40; J. Freudenthal, Toledo, Ohio, \$1.50; Socialist Co-op. Pub. Ass'n, N. Y., \$62.40; Local Moline, Ill., \$10.25. Total to September 18th, \$3,527.92.

The National Committee has thus far remitted \$3,459.84 to W. B. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers on account of Strike Fund of the Socialist party.

A Lecture on Millet the French Artist

On Tuesday afternoon, October 7th, at 2 p. m., Mr. Aaron Altman, the well-known artist, will give a lecture under the auspices of the William Morris Club, at the Socialist headquarters, room 8, Odd Fellows' building. The subject of the lecture will be "The Paintings of J. F. Millet," in which the speaker will treat of the painters attitude toward humanity as embodied in his pictures. Anyone interested in art is cordially invited to attend.

Richardson's Tour

To the comrades of my district I announce an outline of work from now until election day.

I must leave the arrangements of meetings with the various county committees, but will be in the several counties on the following dates:

Tulare, from September 19th to 23d inclusive.

Ventura, from September 25th to 28th inclusive.

Santa Barbara, from September 29th to October 4th inclusive.

San Luis Obispo, from October 5th to 9th inclusive.

San Diego, from October 12th to 17th inclusive.

Orange, from October 18th to 21st inclusive.

Riverside, from October 22d to 27th inclusive.

San Bernardino, from October 28th to November 4th inclusive.

Yours truly,
N. A. Richardson.

Comrade John C. Chase, ex-Mayor of Haverhill, Mass., and present nominee for Governor on the Socialist Party ticket for the State of Massachusetts, speaks under the auspices of the Brewers' Union on the subject of "Socialism, Unionism, Politics in the Union," at Turk Street Temple, 117 Turk street, Wednesday night at 8 o'clock, October 22 1902. All union people invited to be present.

Summerfield & Roman

Agents for Carhart Union Made Overalls, at 90 cents each.

CORNER FIFTH AND MARKET STS

Phone Red 3098
OLIVER EVERETT
Architect
Office hours: 12 m. to 2 p. m.
126 Kearney St., rm 41. San Francisco.

DR. A. L. SIMPSON

Dentist
1206 MARKET
Cor. Calden Gate Ave.
Teeth extracted with Cocaine, 25c; teeth cleaned and polished, \$1.00
Office Hours: 9 a. m. to 9 p. m.
Sundays, 10 a. m. to 12 m.
No extra charge for Sunday or evening work. All work guaranteed.
No students.

ADVANCE 50c per year

Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society
 OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BRANCH 102
 Meeting every last Monday in the month at 8 P. M. in the Temple, 117 Turk street.
 Secretary, H. Warnecke, 923 1/2 Shotwell St. Physician, Dr. Frederick A. Rinne, 1312 Market street. Hours, 3 to 5, and 7 to 8 P. M. Doctor's residence, 2901 Folsom, cor. 25th St. Hours: Before 9 A. M.; 1 to 2, 5:30 to 6:30 P. M. Telephone South 882.

Henry Warnecke & Co.,
 CIGAR MANUFACTURERS.
 2971 Twenty-first street, near Folsom.
 A Good Union Made Cigar.

ELCHO HOUSE
 8634 Market St., opp. Powell and Eddy
 W. W. WALMSLEY, Prop.
 Furnished Rooms 15, 20, and 25 cents per Night. First-class reading room. All daily papers.

GEORGE WIELAND
 DEALER IN

Wood and Coal
 1685 Howard St., S. F., bet. 12th & 13th
 Phone Folsom 386 Orders promptly attended to. Free delivery to any part of the city.

AT LEON LEMOS
 Bet. Seventh and Eighth
 1117 MARKET STREET
 Merchant Tailor

From \$12.50	Elegant for Suit to Order One Extra Pants Free
\$1.00 Weekly	We Make Suits on Installments from \$15.00 Up

GUS. POSTLER
 Paints, Oils, Wall Paper, etc.
 PAINTING AND PAPERHANGING.
 Prompt attention to all orders.
 3247 Nineteenth St. Phone White 1116

RIPANS
 I did not know what it was to eat a good breakfast in the morning. By noon I would become so sick, and have great pain and discomfort.
 I got so that I would do without eating as long as I could, so as to avoid the misery. At night I could not sleep. The doctors said I had nervous indigestion. I heard much about Ripans Tablets and at last I thought I would try them. I had taken only one box when I obtained relief.

AT DRUGGISTS.
 The Five-cent package is enough for an ordinary occasion. The Family Bottle, 60 cents, contains supply for a year.

EASTMAN & MITCHELL
Printers
 415 MARKET ST. PHONE MAIN 5015

TO FRIENDS OF ORGANIZED LABOR!
The "Advance" Co-operative ...
... Bakery and Confectionery
 1527 Mission St.

BREAD, CAKES AND PASTRY DELIVERED TO ANY PART OF THE CITY.

Every Loaf of Bread and Every Cake has this label of the Bakers and Confectioners' Union on it.

PARTIES and WEDDINGS Promptly Attended to. Remember our address.
 1527 Mission St. Phone Jessie 2511

SEE THE UNION CARD
 —OF THE—

Journeyman Bakers & Confectioners
International Union
 in the BAKERY WHERE YOU BUY YOUR BREAD.
 It stands for:
 Clean Bread, Sanitary Workshop, One Day's Rest a Week.

State Executive Committee
 State Executive Committee, Los Angeles, California.
 Meeting called to order by Secretary Harriman, and L.D. Biddle was elected Chairman for the session.

Present: L. D. Biddle, P. D. Noel, J. Patton, W. A. Corey, Mary A. Garbut and Job Harriman.
 The following order of business was adopted:
 Calling of roll.
 Reading of minutes of previous meeting.

Report of Secretary.
 Report of Committees.
 Unfinished business.
 New Business.
 The minutes of the convention and that portion of the constitution pertaining to the duties of the committee and to party management were read and the following instructions were given to the Secretary:

To close voting on all propositions submitted by this committee five weeks after submitting the same.
 To order as many numbers of the *Advance*, dated September 20, 1902, sent to each local in the State as there are members thereof.

To ask for bids from the *Advance* for 1000 State Constitutions in pamphlet form.
 To order call for each Senatorial District to elect their State Committeemen as provided by the constitution.

To supply to the *Appeal to Reason* the information requested.
 To notify locals to make nominations for State Organizers in their respective districts.

To give names of all locals in the State to the *Advance*, and the names and addresses of their secretaries.
 To purchase all books and necessary equipments for the office.

Resignations.
 The resignations of comrades Richardson as Organizer of the Northern District and of P. D. Noel as member of the provisional Executive Committee were accepted.

Appointments.
 Comrade Gideon S. Brower was appointed Organizer for the Northern District and Comrade Helphenstine of the Southern District until their successors are elected.

Committees.
 Comrades Corey and Harriman were appointed as committee on literature.

Charters.
 Charter was granted to Local Teralta of San Diego.

Receipts.
 Comrade N. A. Richardson, \$23.95; Local San Francisco, \$10; Comrade Bersford, \$67.90; total, \$101.85.

Stamps.
 Received 700 stamps from Comrade J. J. Patton, sent by State Committee.

Headquarters.
 Headquarters where all mail will be directed is at 145 N. Main street.
 Job Harriman, Sec.-Treas.

A Wrong that Needs Righting

In a little store at 153 Fifth street, two young women have been making a comfortable and honorable living for the last five years.

They make aprons and other things for cooks, waiters, carpenters, etc. Their work is good, their prices fair. No charge against them has ever been made, not even a whisper of any wrong. Suddenly one of their customers tells them that the Cooks' and Waiters' Union have passed a law inflicting a fine of ten dollars on any member wearing an apron that does not have the union label on it. "Oh!" said Miss McCoy and Miss Miller, "we have always been in favor of the union, let us get the label by all means." They go to the Secretary of the Garment Workers Union prepared to pay any reasonable demand for the label, only to be told that they cannot get the label at any price. Next they go to the Labor Council and interview the Secretary, Ed. Rosenberg, after considering the matter informs them that they must apply to the National Executive Board of the Garment Workers. They do so by letter. The reply comes and tells them that they cannot have the label either as workers or employers. Only such employers as have at least twenty-five helpers can have the label. These brave girls only employ themselves. On Thursday they appeared before the Building Trades Council and pleaded their case. They said in substance: "We believe in unions; always have believed in unions. Are we to close our store; give up our living? Go on the street or become wage-slaves to a sweat shop simply because we cannot employ twenty-five assistants? Is this the support and justice we are to receive from union men and women?"

In the Council chamber there was a feeling of hearty sympathy for the girls, and the carpenters said that they would see that no fine was inflicted on any member that gave them work. That is all very

well, but surely the Labor Council of this city will set about righting this wrong, and doing it quick. To crush these girls is not unionism; it is murder. In all this great land there is no nobler sight than to behold brave, honorable and virtuous women bravely fighting the battle of life. Surely some way out of the difficulty can be found; I would add must be found. The garment workers are powerless, as not one of them is allowed to work for themselves—that is the law. It is a bad law, an abominable law, made in the interest of exploiters and sweaters and must be changed at any cost.

Swiss Socialists Win a Brilliant Victory

Our Zurich friends are engaged in a bitter struggle owing to the injustice and flagrant hypocrisy of the bourgeois political parties. After the election last spring to the Cantonal Parliament, where, as was reported in *Justice* at the time, the Zurich comrades won all the seats in the workers' ward of Zurich, there was weeping and wailing of teeth among the Radicals and Democrats. The Socialists ought to have been willing to come to terms with them so that all parties should have been represented according to their strength.

This was a palpable swindle. Our comrades were quite ready, as far as I understand the matter, if this were to be extended to the whole of Zurich and the Socialists were granted a representation proportionate to their strength in the other four wards where the bourgeois parties monopolized all the seats. But our Zurich friends were not going to be fooled. If they must allow themselves to be trampled on in the other wards there was no reason why they should quietly grant these other parties representation in their own ward. That was a bit too much for our comrades, but not too much for the hypocritical crew who were opposed to us, who whine about the tyranny of Socialism and their own love of justice—while their practice is the reverse. These people, however, once beaten, did not take their beating with good grace, but trumped up a number of the wildest charges against our people. Having the majority in the Cantonal Parliament, they forced through appointing a commission (in which, naturally, they had an overwhelming majority) to inquire into the conduct of the Socialist Democratic party during the election. Thus they carefully avoided going into the question how far any practices objected to by them were universal in Zurich. As a matter of fact, much more serious charges against these same parties in the past were treated by them as of no account. The commissioners, speaking through the mouths of the representatives of the majority admitted that the result had in no way been influenced by any irregularity, and that, legally speaking, there was no irregularity; but they said, "We have the legal ground and place ourselves on a basis of morality. This has been a bitter fight. All parties have sinned." Our party organ, the *Volksrecht*, asked how they knew all parties had sinned? (The inquiry was limited to the Socialists!) "Let us have a new election"—limited however to one ward. They carefully ignored the other wards. Our comrade, Otto Lang, the one minority member of the commission—a judge of the Zurich high court and a brilliant jurist—has brilliantly shown up the inconsistencies of their position. All, however, to no avail. The bourgeois had the power and voted us down. The election in the one ward was declared null and void. The new election takes place today. All our old members, whose election was thus hypocritically declared null and void, have been unanimously selected as candidates at a big open meeting. The auguries are good. The whole proceedings show, however, what we have to expect from the middle-class democrats. Lies and humbug are their political weapons.

Zurich, August 31.
 Writing from Zurich late on Sunday night, Askew says: "A magnificent victory has been won by the Social Democratic party here to-day in the reelections to the Cantonal Parliament. The highest vote of our opponents was 3,648, the lowest on the list of the twenty-seven elected Socialist Democrats; 5,594; thus by 1,846 votes is the entire Socialist vote separated from the highest of the list of the bourgeois alliance. At the last election the difference was only 200 votes. The highest Socialist votes were Erismann (last time 5,121), 6,315; Greulich, 6,237; Seidel, 6,135. The total increase of votes must be put lowest at about 30,000. The lowest Socialist vote has risen from 4,362 to 5,594 and the highest from 5,121 to 6,315. The bourgeois vote has decreased from 11,455 entitled to vote to 9,511. There is great enthusiasm here. A vote of thanks to our opponents was carried with laughter and cheers."

Five six-months' subscription postal cards will be sold for one dollar. Every comrade and subscriber should get a supply.

Tel. Fell 5991
Cameron H. King
 ATTORNEY AT LAW
 816 Fulton St., bet. Webster & Fillmore Sts., San Francisco, Cal.

J. George Smith
 416 Hearst Building, Market & Third, S. F. Oakland office: 1016 Broadway.
 LICENSED LAND SURVEYOR, U. S. PATENT ATTORNEY.
 Land Titles Searched in Alameda County.

EMIL LIESS
 Attorney at Law
 Office: 524 Callaghan Building, McAllister and Market Sts., Telephone Howard 3465
 Residence: 32 Beaver St., near Market and Noe; Telephone Capp 4423

Telephone Howard 1801.
W. C. Shepard
 Attorney at Law
 201-202 Parrott Building, San Francisco
 Telephone Capp 2425

Geo. Thistleton & Co.
 Real Estate Agents
 Homestead property a specialty, Houses Rented and Rents Collected, Houses Built and Sold on Installments.
 City Office, 137 MONTGOMERY ST. Take Elevator
 Ocean View Office and Residence, 272 SADOWA STREET, S. F.

Suburban property a specialty; Houses rented; Rents collected; Property bought and sold; Loans negotiated. The San Francisco and San Mateo Electric Cars stop at Sadowa street, Ocean View. Fare to all parts of the city only five cents.

Wm. Schlothman
 Wholesale and Retail Dealer in
BUTTER, EGGS & DAIRY PRODUCE
 731 Shotwell St., San Francisco
 Telephone Page 1982.

Bicycle Exchange
 Anton Messerschmidt, Proprietor.
 442 STANYAN STREET
 Opposite Pan Handle and Page Street Park Entrances.
 Wines, Liquors and Cigars. Hot and Cold Lunches Served from 10 cents up. Reserved apartments for families.
 Telephone Howard 3251

Jas. K. Smith
 Manufacturer of
Trunks, Valises and Traveling Bags
 Repairing of every description. Sample Cases made to order.
 971 MISSION STREET, S. E. COR. 6th San Francisco, Cal.

San Francisco Rochdale Co., Inc.
CO-OPERATIVE GROCERY STORE
 No. 1896 Mission Street
 Telephone, Mission 244

A step towards Socialism. By patronizing this store you help the cause as well as yourself. By becoming a member you will share in the profits in proportion to your trade. Orders solicited and goods delivered promptly. Only good goods handled. No adulterations or short weights. Prices the lowest, quality considered. Be a co-operator in fact as well as in principle and co-operate with us.

SCHOOL OF WALTER THOS. MILLS

Every Socialist worker and every one else who cares to understand Socialism and be able to explain it to others should join the seventeen hundred comrades who are taking the correspondence course with Walter Thomas Mills. Send five cents in stamps and get a copy of his Sedalia speech on "What Is Socialism?" together with full particulars about his school. You may commence at any time. Address him for the present, General Delivery, Kansas City, Mo.


Medical journal desires a representative in this locality. Permanent employment. Salary and commission. Address E. T. C., 154 East 72, New York City.

Good Judges of Values
 —BUY THE—
MASSACHUSETTS \$3 SHOE
 For Men and Women
Massachusetts SHOE CO.
 1101 Market Street Cor. (Opp. Fellows' Building)



Drink Abet Bitters
 The only Remedy for a disordered stomach. It cures catarrh, dyspepsia, biliousness, constipation, disturbed stomach, and cleans the head.
H. F. SALENDER, Sole Proprietor
 287 Natoma Street, San Francisco

UNION MEN
 When Drinking Beer See That This Label



Is On The Keg Or Bottle

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW
 is the periodical. You cannot do without it if you wish to understand Socialism and keep in touch with socialist thought. Monthly, 64 pp., \$1 a year, 10c a copy. If you have never been a subscriber you can get the REVIEW 3 mo. on trial for 10c. If in Chicago, or any foreign country except Canada, add 6c for postage. Catalogue free. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.

G. B. BENHAM
PRINTER
 123 Seventh Street Near Mission
 Fine Color Work, Embossing
 Printing of Every Description
 Telephone South 842

Chas. Coleman
Diamonds, Watches, Jewelry,
 Clocks, Optical Goods, Etc.
 Manufacturing Jeweler & Diamond Setter
 Special attention given to fine watch repairing.
 1376 MARKET STREET, San Francisco
 Bet. Jones and City Hall Ave.
 Cash paid for old Gold. Telephone Folsom 416

CREMATION
Odd Fellows' Cemetery Association, Point Lobos Avenue
 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Funeral Directors
 (For Cremation Only.)
 Funeral Rooms—429 Golden Gate ave.; telephone South 934.
 Main office at cemetery, Point Lobos ave., San Francisco; telephone West 696.
 Prices of cremation—Adults over 15 years of age, \$75; children under 15 years of age, \$15.
 This includes a plain copper receptacle for the ashes, organ service and use of the chapel.
 Cremators mailed to any address on application.
 GEO. T. BOWEN, Pres.
 G. C. PENNINGTON, Sec.

At less than down town prices
 Anything you want in Crockery, Glassware and Household Utensils at the

Ninth Street Bazaar
 76 Ninth street, bet. Market and Mission

E. J. Thavonat and P. J. Jonas of the Lone Star Cafe keep the choicest wines, liquors and cigars, 24 Seventh street, San Francisco. Elegant hot and cold lunch.